1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

667 554 had been placed in responsible positions proves what I have said about the selection and rise of slave officials at the court of Bida.

Slave Ranks

Title	*Tribal origin*	*Present office*	*Biographical remarks*
Gabi Seidi	Kupa	'Officer of Liaison' between *Etsu* and District Officer	A rich slave who under *Etsu* Bello bought his title for £16.
Ndatwaki	Yagba	On the Bida Town Council	Father was *Ndatwaki* under *Etsu* Maliki; he himself received the same title under *Etsu* Bello.
Dzwodfu	,,	,, ,,	An hereditary slave title, first granted under *Etsu* Usman.
Ndamáraki	Bunu	,, ,,	Father was *Ndamáraki* under *Etsu* Masaba.
Sántali	Benu-Nupe	..	Grandfather was a slave of Usman Zaki; they remained slaves of this house.
Masántali	Yagba	..	Grandfather was a slave of *Etsu* Umaru Majigi; they remained slaves of this house.
Swajiyd'tsu	,,	..	Father held same slave rank.
Ndatódo	,,	..	Father held the same title and also title of *Ndamáraki*.
Manfáda	,,	..	Another slave title which has become hereditary in one house.
Sonmdźi	Kusopa-Nupe	..	Id.
Ndádari	Nupe	..	Id.
Shangbo	Nupe from Rabá	..	Father was a *saraki* (*Somasü*) of *Etsu* Majiya. He was made prisoner in the war and became a slave of *Etsu* Masaba.
(*Sarkin Dogari*	Hausa	Head of police force	To-day not regarded as slave title. Formerly bestowed on a personal slave of the ruling king.)

WAR

124 721 It will be understood that this description is based entirely on information and the historical recollections of informants. However, the wars that were fought in Nupe and by the Nupe are not so far distant that there are no longer eyewitnesses left, or people who have themselves borne arms in these wars. Thus information could be checked and cross-checked. For certain details I could, moreover, count on most authoritative informants, who had played a leading part in the last wars of the kingdom; the description of the military organization, for example, is based on information obtained from the late commander of the *élite* troops of Nupe, the king's bodyguard.

721 669 War was essentially a concern of the Nupe state. No warfare or organized fights occurred between the villages or tribal sections of the

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

way to the (much smaller) tax-receipts made out for individuals. It is, in fact, the present official policy of the Administration to encourage the issue and acceptance of individual tax-receipts throughout the country. Taxation thus ignores and even denies in its own powerful province the existence of the family unit—with what results we shall see later.

LAW

Let me try first to give a picture of the judicial system of Nupe kingdom as it existed in pre-European times. This is, naturally, an historical reconstruction. But the history to which it refers is not the history of a mythical past. It is a history well documented, and obtained from information which seems reliable and significant and which, collected from different sources, shows remarkable agreement on all main points. My chief informants were village elders and chiefs and the Mohammedan judges of Bida Emirate who, in charge of modern jurisdiction to-day, have witnessed and partly practised themselves the old system.

The theoretical difficulties with which the student of law in primitive cultures is faced are absent in our investigation. The problem, especially, whether to define the province of law on the narrow basis of systematic social control exercised by a politically organized society (Radcliffe-Brown) or, more comprehensively, as embracing all social sanctions that make for uniformity of conduct (Malinowski), is decided for us by the nature of the society which we are studying in the sense of the former essentially modern interpretation. Law in Nupe kingdom is quite conspicuously a concern of the political organization and forms part of the elaborate coercive machinery of the state. This does not mean that no sanctions or forms of redress exist which are applied outside the political framework and left to the more diffuse workings of public opinion and individual or group 'self-help'. But the scope of this non-political (or extra-political) law is extremely restricted. It comprises only two types of offences: religious offences—desecration of sacred objects or places, both Mohammedan and pagan—and kinship offences—litigation over inheritance, offences against traditional marriage rules (i.e. marriages in forbidden degrees), and also incest. I cannot describe here in detail the treatment which Nupe society meted out to individuals guilty of these offences. Suffice it to say that public ostracism which might force the culprit to self-exile or to confidence in his vindication by the deity was its main feature. The society thus exempted from its otherwise comprehensive scheme of formal political jurisdiction the two offences which were either of a nature transcending human justice (as in the case of religious offences, and also partly incest) or concerned only internal frictions in individual kinship groups. All offences that affected the relations between kinship groups or individuals from different kinship groups, and all crimes against human life, were regarded as a concern of the community at large.

But the comprehensiveness of political jurisdiction admitted of two degrees. Traditional Nupe law operated with a legal distinction which, corresponding in certain respects to the modern distinction between

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
FF52 Nupe FF52

But we must reckon also with another ideological rift in tastes and desires, which would affect all three stages of our investigation, namely a rift which might be involved in the complex and composite nature of Nupe culture. It would separate, not social strata, but different sections of the population, different cultural groups within Nupe society. A rift of this kind does, in fact, exist with respect to the different cultural standards valid in town and country, in the Mohammedanized capital and the pagan or semi-pagan districts.

STANDARDS OF LIVING: NECESSITIES OF LIFE

The extent to which the economy of an individual or a family group is able to incorporate into its 'balance' wants placed lower or higher on the scale of cultural values gives us what is generally called the 'standard of living'. We shall find that it is possible to arrange these varying standards in certain well-defined groups or grades, and to embody them in a comprehensive economic stratification of the society.

It will be best to begin with concrete illustrations of the economic balance achieved in Nupe households. Out of fifty household budgets which I have recorded I propose to select five representative examples, taken from different localities and differently organized household groups, in which we can study the main variations that occur. All these examples refer to peasant households. Unfortunately I found it impossible to work out budgets of this kind also for craftsmen and 'free professions' (with two exceptions to be quoted later). Their extremely fluid economy presented great difficulties; to reduce, in their case, income and expenditure to exact figures would have demanded much more time than I was able to devote to this task. However, just because these types of economy are more fluid and more easily adjustable to varying wants, they are of less interest to us than the more restricted and more rigid economy of the agriculturist.

Let me say a few words about the method by which I arrived at these records of Nupe household economy. I have examined households in Bida, Doko, Lemu, and Kutigi. The figures referring to the total farm-yield, and to the proportion of the produce kept for consumption or set aside for sale, were ascertained by inquiry. The nature of Nupe agriculture—the series of successive harvests, and the widely varying arrangements with regard to storage and sale of produce—precluded any more direct approach (e.g. by measuring the yield or the stores). However, there were important safeguards: first, as we have seen, the Nupe farmers are well acquainted with the use of standard measures, and indeed themselves use them to calculate their yield. Moreover, after a number of preliminary inquiries (in which I was helped by reliable informants) I could already form an opinion as to likely averages and individual deviations. Finally, whenever any dubious figures emerged I could verify them by independent inquiries of other household members. In this respect the tendency of the Nupe farmers to keep track of the contributions of the various family members to the common store proved of considerable assistance.

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

universal scale of mental characteristics or abilities. The present investigation is in no way concerned with measuring or rating psychological reactions and characteristics. It is devoted to a qualitative analysis, more precisely: a qualitative comparative analysis, of the higher mental processes—perception, memory and thinking processes—of two primitive peoples. Its primary aim is to discover 'typical' psychological traits among groups of different culture, in other words, to study by means of a psychological experiment what Professor Bartlett calls the "preferred, persistent tendencies of groups" (3), p. 255).

During two anthropological expeditions to West Africa (Northern Nigeria) I had made some effort to combine anthropological work with experimental psychological studies. I had been working for some time among two neighbouring tribes, the Yoruba and the Nupe. These, living side by side, in the same material environment, under the same general conditions and at the same stage of civilization, yet present a picture of two entirely different, almost antagonistic cultures. This seemed an ideal situation for an investigation on the lines of such 'racial' or culture-psychology. Thus I carried out the same series of experiments among both groups, and I shall describe in the following pages some of the results of this comparative study.

II. The experiments

I propose to describe two sets of experiments which correspond very closely to the type of experiment used by Bartlett, namely experiments on *Description* and *Repeated Reproduction* of pictures and stories (3), p. 45 *et seq.*). The pictures were photographs of objects or scenes with which the experimental subjects were all familiar. Some of them were enlargements of my own photographs taken in the country, and some were taken from the *Illustrated London News* and other illustrated papers. The story which was used I composed myself. It was modelled on a native folk-tale of a type fairly common both among Nupe and Yoruba, but with a view to bringing out certain psychological test facts. The experiments were, for practical reasons, carried out in schools, namely in the Government Middle Schools in which teaching is done by native teachers and to a large extent in the vernacular. The two series which I am describing here were done with 20 students from each community, of the age of 15–18. All experiments were done in the vernacular; among the Nupe I myself carried out the experiments, as I was speaking the language fluently; among the other group, the Yoruba, I trained two teachers to carry out the experiments for me.

41: Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

The present study can only claim to be a first attempt in field experiments of this kind, carried out under conditions which did not allow a more extensive investigation. Yet the question could be raised how far the evidence obtained in experiments which were carried out on so small a scale and in so special a setting can be considered significant and representative of the culture at large. In order to secure a representative group I selected for my experimental subjects students who came from a great many different places in Nupe and Yoruba respectively. The two experimental groups were matched as closely as possible with regard to age, school standard and the surroundings from which they came. In Nupe I was able to work with larger groups: with 60 boys of the age of 12–18 who were taken from every school form, i.e. who had been students of the Middle School for periods varying from 1 to 5 years. Now, as I shall show later, the experiments admit to a certain extent of statistical interpretation, i.e. the responses to certain essential features in the story or the pictures can be classified and treated quantitatively. This statistical evidence allows us to gauge the extent to which the 20 Yoruba subjects can be considered a significant and representative sample. I found that the means for the various responses calculated for the small group correspond very closely to the means arrived at for the large group; in other words, there exist no unequally distributed marked individual differences which would invalidate the results obtained among the small group. Since school standard and age do not correspond very closely in Nigerian schools, the statistical evidence can moreover be used to check independently the influence of age and educational standard. As regards the age factor, we find a slight rise in the appreciation of factors of reasoning and emotional facts corresponding to age; a fairly unchanged appreciation of situational facts; and a fall in the appreciation of moral ideas from the age of 13–15. More important for this investigation is the educational factor; here the statistical evidence proves conclusively that the difference in educational standard has no influence on the psychological responses and attitudes examined in these experiments.

III. THE CULTURE DIFFERENCES

Before going into details I must say a few words about the two cultures and the nature of their diversity. The two groups speak different languages which, however, belong to the same linguistic group (of so-called *Sudanic* languages). Their economic system and their general social organization are similar. Yet other aspects of their culture, aspects which may be held to express more specifically psychological trends or tendencies,[1] reveal a fundamental difference. The religion of the Yoruba is characterized by an elaborate and rationalized hierarchical system of deities, each of which has its specific, specialized duty and function. The Nupe have no such system; their religious beliefs centre round a concept of magic of the 'mana' type, i.e. vague, abstract, impersonal power. In the rich, highly developed realistic art of the Yoruba the main *motif* of pictures, plastics and wooden images is the human figure; religious and mythical emblems of this kind play an important part in their life. Again,

[1] See my article on "The Typological Approach to Culture" (4).